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PAX SYRIANA vs. DEMOCRACY IN LEBANON

On May 8, the « old » parliament elected a « new » president —Elias Sarkis. Many of the deputies were forced into attending the special session as they were forcefully escorted from their homes by their Syrian « hosts ». In the past, the fascists always posed as the defenders of Lebanon's Sovereignty, now they welcome Syrian tutelage.

The election results have not resolved the social-class contradictions of Lebanon. They however prove Marx's statement below. Simply put there is no ruling class that votes itself out of power.

« If you look up the last chapter of my Eighteenth Brumaire, you will find that I declare that the next attempt of the French Revolution will be no longer, as before, to transfer the bureaucratic-military machine from one hand to another, but to smash it, and this is the pre-condition for every people's revolution... »

Marx to Kugelmann, April 12, 1871

After the 1958 civil war in Lebanon, General Shihab was elected to the presidency. Later, he very astutely remarked : « It is not me whom the Lebanese elected; I only represented the inability to elect someone else. » His words were more profound than he intended them to be. If analysed, his statement essentially meant that the same process and apparatus that was the basis of the previous civil war could not introduce fundemental change or progress. Ironically, Lebanon is facing similar ciscumstances today. The old institutions of the state are desperately trying to elect a new president who will most likely when elected personify Shihab's perceptive comment : « the inability to elect someone else. »

It would be facile to reduce the present conflict in Lebanon to one of simply electing a new president. For the past thirteen (13) months we have been witnessing the dialectical development of a social revolution in Lebanon and the successful defense of the Palestinian Resistance Movement. Now we are at a new crossroads : will the old decadent confessional system cling on to its existence, or will the latest Imperialist-Reactionary offensive to strike the Palestinian Resistance Movement and its allies — the Lebanese Progressive Movement be foiled ?

In the meantime, the American sponsored initiative to terminate the fighting in Lebanon has gained momentum particularly in the aftermath of the new Syrian initiative of January. The Syrian initiative basically sought to save the fascists and the remains of the state apparatus. Syria's designated goal put it in contradiction with the resistance movement and the Lebanese Progressive movement. Why ? To provide an adequate answer we must pin-point Syria's role in the overall Imperialist settlement which in turn would greatly facilitate our understanding of the nature and goal of the Syrian role in Lebanon.

SYRIA AND THE « PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT » :

After Kissinger's success with Sadat in convincing the latter to accept the « Sinai Accords » (see Bulletin 19-20 « Sadat, the Sinai Accords — on the Road to Total Capitulation »), imperialism has sought to make a new gain on the Syrian front which would ultimately lead to the Palestinian link. This required that Kissinger direct his efforts towards Syria, particularly after being advised by the Saudis to do so. Edward R.F. Sheehan, in the March 76 issue of *Foreign Policy* writes : « The king's allusion to Syria was crucial. After the audience, Omar Saqqaf, the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, urged Kissinger to visit Damascus, revealing Faisal's conviction that Syria was the key to peace. » Though Syria has yet to sign an agreement similar to the « Sinai Accords », it is nevertheless searching for the proper opportunity that would permit it to do so. In the meantime, Syria launches attacks on Sadat not because of the latter's capitulationist position; simply because he left Syria out in the cold.

To offset this peculiar predicament, Syria launched a campaign to establish itself as a strong power that commands the Eastern Front in the confrontation with Israel. This has meant a rapprochement with King Hussein and an attempt to establish tutelage over Lebanon. This position has required that Syria opt for a solution of « No vanquished, No victor » in Lebanon so as to impose its hegemony. Syria's President Assad thought that in strengthening his power base; conditions would be ripe for accepting the American « Peaceful Settlement » . In this context Syria sought to defeat the progressive forces in Lebanon and to encircle or weaken the Palestinian Resistance Movement even if this resulted in supporting the Phalangists and President Franjieh in their quest to prevent the de-confessionalization of Lebanon.

LEBANON AT NEW CROSSROADS

The most important developments in the battles of Lebanon over the past year can be summarized in the following :

a. The dis-integration of the fascist forces both morally and on the military front. In the meantime the Army was divided and much of it joined the anti-regime forces. These factors made the issue of the resignation of President Franjieh a popular demand. On the military front the gains of the progressive forces in the mountains and the Hotel District was a clear indication that the right wing forces were encountering military defeat.

b. As a natural extension of the above, the progressive forces and the Palestinian Resistance captured both political and military initiative, hence dictating the basis and outcome of the battles. As a result their demands went well beyond the previously Syrian imposed limitations.

c. It became obvious to all that Lebanon had reached a point of no return. The Lebanon of the past has been defeated and a new Lebanon requiring fundemental changes from the past is in the process of birth.

The sum total of the above points forms the basis of the conflict and clash between the progressive forces and Syria. Previously, the Syrian initiative was predicated on a situation whereby political and military initiatives lay in the hands of the fascists, which permitted for the existence of a delicate military balance of power between the progressive forces and the fascists. The Syrian goal in this context was to seek a quieting down of the situation, a cease-fire that would insure the implementation of minimal reforms that do not threaten the basic structures of the confessional regime.

The progressive forces led by Jumblatt remained adamant in their demand that a cease-fire and a settlement must be predicated on the adoption of the reform program they had presented long before. The basic points of the program are the de-confessionalization of Lebanon through the introduction of various reforms in the political, social, economic and military spheres. In the meantime their demands were accompanied by a favourable military balance of power resulting from the various victories they had attained.

To confront this new development, the Syrian initiative was transformed into direct military intervention that objectively helped the right wing. The estimated number of Syrian troops in Lebanon reached 15,000 or more. This outright incursion fired-back. Syria was forced to retreat. Its aim of dividing the progressive forces and the Palestinian Resistance Movement had failed.

The Syrian incursion in Lebanon produced negative results for President Hafez Assad on his home front. In addition, as a result of his failure in Lebanon, he feared that the U.S. might abandon or be reluctant in accepting the Syrian-Jordanian-Palestinian framework for the resolution of the larger Middle East conflict. This framework is the key through which Assad hopes to wield control and command of the Eastern Front. (Syria-Jordan-PLO- and Lebanon if need be.)

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The following article was written by the « Women's International League for Peace and Freedom » .. Lebanese section. It was published on March 29, 1976.

It is impossible these days to read a daily newspaper without running across news of the continuing uprising in Occupied Palestine. Jerusalem, Jineen, Ramallah, Tulkarem, Nablus are all battlefronts where hundreds and thousands of Palestinians engage the Zionist forces in daily confrontations. This has forced the Israeli authorities to increase their military presence in the West Bank.

In addition to the uprising, effective and courageous military operations are carried out by the Palestinian Resistance Movement. The « Ghassan Kanafani Unit » of the PFLP conducted an attack on Israeli soldiers in the village of Maythaloun, near Jineen that resulted in the killing of 14 enemy soldiers. Also, in spite of the fact that the village was encircled by enemy troops and several of the villagers were arrested, all the commandos were able to disappear into safety. The PFLP communique which was issued by the leadership of the occupied territories asserted that such operations are an effective response to Israeli schemes of holding local elections and the expropriating of Arab lands. The enemy radio in its Hebrew broadcast was forced to admit the successful carrying out of the operation.

We simply say that in spite of all the precautionary security measures that are taken by the Israeli enemy, our people and our militants will continue to develop and advance the struggle. It is a historical fact that once a people's movement is set in motion there are no insurmountable obstacles

REVOLT IN OCCUPIED PALESTINE

The latest wave of resistance to Israeli occupation started after the United States vetoed a U.N. Security Council resolution condemning Israeli repression and settlement in the villages of Sabastia & Kafar Qaddum near the town of Nablus.

The decision by an Israeli court to permit « Jews to pray in the Aqsa Mosque area has clearly a political rather than a religious decision. The Arabs recognized this as part of an ongoing Israeli Plan to change the status of Jerusalem. Palestinian Arabs, under occupation since 1948 joined this wave of resistance, when Israel ordered the expropriation of one and a half million Dunums (1 Dunum = 1000 sq meters) of Arab land in Upper Galilee and near the city of Rafah.

The resistance movement began in Nablus on 26/1/1976 with strikes and demonstrations. When the Israelis attempted to stop them by armed force the demonstrators blocked the roads by setting fire to car tires. The unrest spread to Jericho, Jerusalem, Jenin, Ramallah and eventually to Hebron, Tulkarem and Qalqilya. The demonstrators used schools, hotels and municipality buildings as their shelters. But were pursued by Israeli soldiers who broke in and clashed with the resistants. The situation soon became explosive. Cables of protest were sent to the U.N. Secretary General and the International Red Cross representatives.

WEEK TWO :

During the second week resistance spread to Bethlehem. The Israeli authorities isolated the city of Nablus from the rest of the occupied land of the west bank, where many high school students were arrested. As a result a general strike was called throughout the rest of the West Bank, and Israeli border-guards and police came out to break up the strike.

Ninety-five Arabs, men and women were arrested in Ramallah and Bireh, where Israeli stormtroops turned a high school into a staging center for attacks.

In the middle of the 2nd week resistance spread into Jerusalem where there were demonstrations against the Israeli court-order permitting Jews to worship inside the Haram al-Sharif, inside which the Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock are located. The supreme Muslim Council sent a cable of protest against this order to the Israeli authorities. The Israeli army of occupation, however, retaliated by arresting 200 Arab Muslims who were praying in the Mosque.

This immediately sent a wave of shock throughout the Muslim world

WEEK THREE :

For the first time since the beginning of these strikes Israeli armoured cars and tanks appear in Jerusalem to attack civilian demonstrators who could only retaliate with stones and sticks and empty bottles. As a result 18 Arabs were arrested among whom was a girl of 15. Thus, families of those arrested under Israeli Administrative Detention held a sit-in outside the offices of the Red Cross demanding the release of their children.

The strikes went on in other West Bank towns where the Palestinian Flag was unfurled and demonstrators called for an end to occupation.

Christian and Muslim Arab religuous leaders presented petitions of protest against the violence used by Israel's army of occupation. Meanwhile in Bireh Israeli troopers broke into the high school and assaulted both faculty and students, many of whom were hospitalized. In Bethlehem high school students held a sit-in against Israeli violence. In Nablus more than 70 men and women were arrested and an Israeli military tribunal imposed fines varying between 2 and 5 thousand Israeli pounds. In Bir Zeit the strikers took refuge in the University buildings.

Resistance continued in Hebron, Tulkarm, Qalqilya and Jenin where a curfew was imposed in the latter two towns.

On Feb. 13th the resistance tried to take refuge in the Aqsa Mosque. But Israeli troopers prevented their entry by force. The attempt was renewed on the third day when Israeli troops opened up with automatic fire against demonstrating Arabs. The commander of the Israeli border-guards was wounded, 30 Arabs were arrested and 20 were critically wounded.

All business closed down and clashes took place in Nablus and Tulkarm. Israeli authorities decreed that all citizens of Ramallah, Nablus, Bireh and Jericho were to be confined to their home towns.

WEEK FOUR :

Israel's military Governor of Jericho ordered his troops to break open all locks of shops on strike and to force them to re-open for business. In Jerusalem the Israeli army not only prevented worshippers from entering the Aqsa Mosque but evicted all worshippers inside it by force. Then they also arrested the Mayor of Ramallah. Qalandiya refugee camp went on strike and oil was pored on the road to impede the advance of Israeli motorized troops. Now the army of occupation attacked the villages of Barqa, Fandaquniya, Silat al-

Zahr, Jamaeen and Beit Furak, where they conducted a house to house search and arrested 116 men and women. Resistance had now spread throughout the West Bank.

WEEK FIVE :

At the start of the fifth week resistance spread to Gaza where thousands demonstrated against Israeli occupation Israeli troops were ordered to stop the demonstrators and clashed with killing 2 Arabs, wounding 53 and arresting 262. The troops harrassed even those who had not taken part, and this led to increased violence which resulted in dozens of Arab casualties

When news spread that Bishop Capucci's health had deteriorated, as a result of the hunger strike which he had begun on Jan. 28, tension visibly increased. Rallies were held in Jerusalem, Ramallah and Beit Sahur. Cables protesting his detention were sent out. Israel chose this moment to announce their decision of ex-propriating 20 thousand Dunums in Upper Galilee. Both Nablus and Jericho warned that they would call for an open strike. In Jerusalem clashes took place between Arabs and 12 hundred Israelis who were forcing their way into the Aqsa Mosque to pray there. In Nablus and Jenin tension grew as a result of arbitrary Israeli decrees ordering refugee camps to be merged with neighbouring towns to facilitate the erection of Zionist settlements in their place.

Arab inhabitants were further harrassed by the increasing activity of settler groups belonging to the extreme right-wing Israeli Likud party who began forcible settlement in the area between Jenin and Tulkarm. Demonstrations again took place in Nablus, Hebron, Ramallah and Bireh, 320 Arabs were arrested including 100 women. Arab political prisoners and detainees joined in by announcing a fortnight hunger strike in the prisons of Beit Leed and Bir Sheiba. Women political prisoners in Ramah prison announced a hunger strike in protest against administrative detention. *The resistance movement spread to Galilee, occupied since 1948, where leaders and heads of municipalities met in a series of sessions in an attempt to frustrate Israel's plan of ex-propriation. It was decided to call for a general strike throughout the occupied territories on March 30th, 1976, which would be designated the Date of the Land.*

WEEK SIX :

Large Israeli troop re-inforcements were rushed into Nablus following the resignation of the Mayor and council in protest against Israel's violence and repression, the city's businessmen called for an open strike in solidarity. This was soon followed by the collective resignation of the city's teachers.

Ultimately the whole city was on strike and Israel's army of occupation fired on the strikers killing 7 Arabs and wounding 164. The strikers retaliated with stones and Molotov cocktails destroying two armoured cars. The army then arrested a large number of strikers including 12 teachers. Arab women also very much in the fore-front of the strikers. They organized sit-ins throughout the mosques of the West Bank in protest against the massacres in Nablus. In Jerusalem the women took refuge in the Aqsa Mosque and sent petitions of protest to the Red Cross and Foreign embassies. There were further clashes in Jenin, Hebron, Bireh and Ramallah. The municipal councils of six towns in the West Bank issued condemnations of the massacres. Mean while Arab demonstrators reached the heart of Tel Aviv. At the same time Arab political prisoners clashed with their guards as a result of their deplorable conditions. The Israeli guards used tear gas to quell the demonstrating prisoners.

WEEK 7 :

Resistance and strikes continue. For the first time, since the 1948 occupation, there was a peaceful demonstration in Nazareth on March 18th. In Jerusalem alone 500 were arrested and 200 were released after paying a fine of 25 thousand Israeli pounds. In the village of Abu Dis clashes led to the death of a boy of 11 and the critical wounding of a girl of 14 and a boy of 19. This resulted in a great wave of unrest in Hebron, Halhoul and Jenin. Israeli soldiers used violence and repression which led again to the proclamation of a general strike. Leaflets protesting Israeli occupation were distributed throughout the West Bank and a curfew was re-imposed in Ramallah and Bireh. Mean while, Sheikh Abu Tir, a Muslim religious leader detained in Ramleh prison, declared a hunger strike in solidarity with Bishop Capucci and the other detainees. Israeli occupying authorities now called on paratroopers to effectuate the repression of Arab civilians

WEEK EIGHT :

A large demonstration took place in Jerusalem in protest to the killing of the 11 year old boy from Abu Dis. The Israelis arrested fifty youths.

The Mayor and Council of Beit Sahour resigned, bringing the total of resignations of municipal councils to 8. The curfew in Ramallah and Bireh continued and was now imposed also in Hebron and Halhoul where heavily armed police petrolled the streets. The army of occupation then surrended Arab Jerusalem imposing collective punishment by cutting off the city's electricity and telephones. The number of detainees in the West Bank reached a total of 2025 Arabs and fines of thousands of Israeli pounds were imposed and collected. On the 27th of March the Israelis arrested 50 girl students and 3 of their women teachers in the Lycees School of Arab Jerusalem. They also expelled two prominent medical doctors (Drs. A. Hamweh and A. Hajj Ahmad) who were led blind-folded and left at the Lebanese border to make their way on foot into some village.

This resistance movement is to continue and reach a climax on March 30th (The DAY OF THE LAND). Meanwhile Israel's occupation authorities carry on with their violent repression. Despite the brutal nature of such Israeli treatment the spirit of Palestinian Resistance has not been crushed. To quote Israeli Minister Shimon Perez : « All measures taken to end the violence have proven inadequate. The use of the army was necessary inspite of opposition from some quarters. But the troops entrusted with the job of ending these resistance movements and the state of chaos and insecurity were not sufficient and by themselves cannot accomplish the desired aim if they are not re-inforced and if such re-inforcement is not carried out in coordination with the military governors of the administered territories ».

ARAB AND INTERNATIONAL REACTIONS :

In Helsinki the world Peace Council condemned the brutalities committed by Israel's army of occupation. The Council sent a letter of protest to the Israeli Premier Rabin expressing the revulsion of international public opinion towards the violent and revengeful acts committed against Arab civilians, the letter also called for the release of all Arab detainees. The Peace Council announced that 10 international organizations and 16 member states of the U.N. had sent similar letters of protest against Israel's violence.

In Berlin the newspaper Neuces Deutschland condemned Israeli repression in the following terms : Israeli occupation authorities have been unable to quell the resistance of the Palestinian masses in the occupied territories despite various acts of repression and terrorism committed against them.

Thousands of demonstrators marched in Pakistan in protest against Israel's brutal occupation of Arab land.

Throughout the Arab Countries a wave of revulsion spread. Public and private institutions, trade-unions, women organizations and student federations called for solidarity with the Arabs of the occupied lands.

Muslim countries called for an urgent meeting of the Security Council, and non-aligned States submitted a resolution condemning Israel's occupation and the measures adopted to change the status of Jerusalem. This resolution was supported by 14 member states of the Security Council including all the permanent members except the United States which vetoed the resolution.

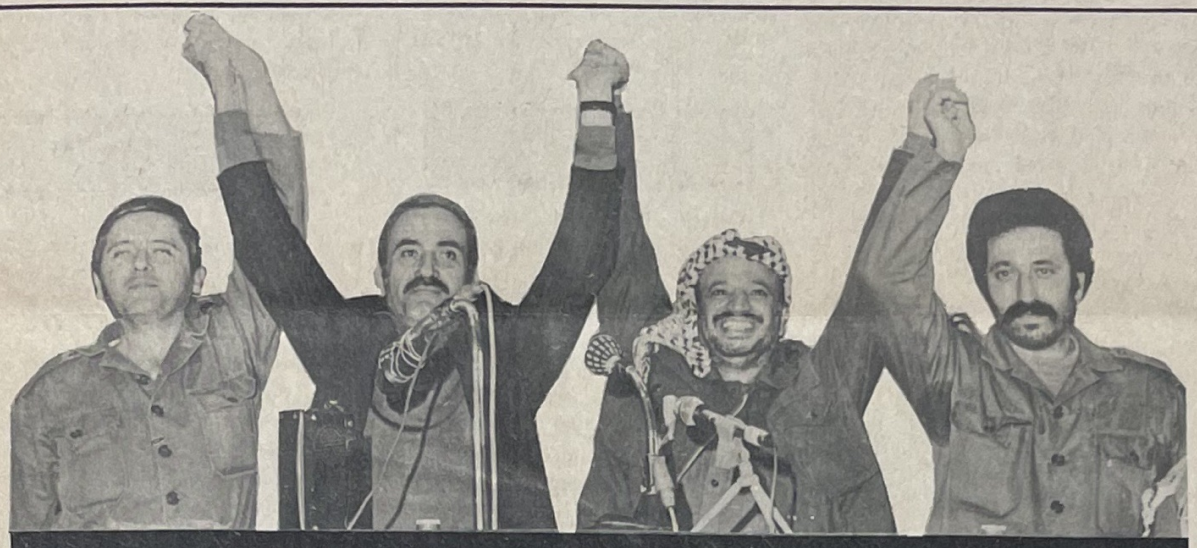
COINCIDENCE OR COLLABORATION ?

As hundreds of our people were being arrested by the Zionist forces in Occupied Palestine as they took part in the general strike on the occasion of the « Day of the Land », our people in Syria and Egypt faced similar fates. In Damascus nine (9) Palestinian students were arrested during a March in solidarity with the masses of the occupied territories. In the speeches delivered at the march, it was made clear that the students were against capitulationist settlements and any attempts of imposing tutelage or hegemony over the Palestinian Resistance Movement and the Lebanese Progressive forces. To prevent the development of the demonstration 300 men of the security forces attacked the demonstration whereby six of the students were injured. In addition this wave of repression also spread to Camp Yarmouk against the Palestinian people who were demonstrating their solidarity with their counterparts in Occupied Palestine.

In Egypt, Sadat's hounds attacked various rallies organized in solidarity with the « Day of the Land ». In Cairo a symposium on the uprising in the occupied territories was terminated when the secret services and the police attacked the audience and the participants causing various injuries In the meantime, the police in Alexandria attacked a rally organized by the General Union of Palestinian Students. In spite of the attack, the rally moved to the street as the participants raised slogans supporting the Palestinian Resistance Movement and calling for the downfall of the enemies of the people — the collaborators with Imperialism.

The force and violence invoked against the demonstrators can only be compared and equated to that used by the Israeli authorities against our people in Occupied Palestine.

Briefly, the actions of the Egyptian and Syrian regimes are a sober reminder that though our primary contradiction is the resolution of the national question, we should never forget the class dimension of this phase. *Finally, in the long-run, Sadat and Assad are and will be expendable as our masses assert their right for liberation free of any tutelage and containment.*



LAND DAY IN PALESTINE

«... *No social order ever perishes before all the productive forces for which there is room has developed; and new higher relations of production in it have developed; and new higher relations of production never appear before the material conditions of their existence have matured in the womb, of the old society.* »

Karl Marx « Preface to a Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy »

New Israeli laws providing for the requisitioning and expropriating of Arab lands for « development purposes » sparked what turned out to be the largest and most comprehensive uprising in Occupied Palestine (Galilee, West Bank and Gaza). March 30 — « The Day of the Land » was an event of historic proportions. The Palestinian people responded to the call of a general strike that did not limit itself to a protest against the new wave of land expropriations by the Israeli authorities. The event was described by Reuters in the following, « It was clear the occasion was being used to air general grievances of Israeli Arabs, now numbering about half a million. »

The Israeli government is pushing ahead with plans to requisition 600 hectares (1,500 acres) of Arab-owned land and 400 hectares (1,000 acres) of Jewish land in the area around Nazareth. The basic aim behind this move according to the Israeli explanations is a long-range development plan, including «new houses for both Jews and Arabs». After all, who would be opposed to such « innocent » schemes ?

The February 29 decision of the Israeli Council of Ministers to requisition Arab lands took place as the uprising of the Palestinians of the West Bank was entering its second month, already having reached a new zenith in the course of anti-Zionist struggle. (see article on the uprising)

In addition, Israeli authorities do not hide the fact that this decision is part of a larger plan to expropriate thousands of hectares in the regions of : Al-Nakab, Al-Muthalath (the village of Kafr Kassem), the Upper Galilee, and in the closed region number « 90 ». In fact the latter region which is used by the Ministry of Defense for military manœuvers, training etc., was attacked by a large Israeli military contingent armed and equipped with various weapons including tanks and helicopters. The Israelis moved swiftly as they encircled the village of Arab Al-Sawad as each unit proceeded with its assigned tasks : a) check points were set up around the town; b) check points within the town were set up to oversee the movements within the houses; c) some units were to prevent the women and children from attacking the security forces as they carried out their tasks of defending the state; d) another unit was to insure that the women of the town would remain in the spots designated for them; e) another unit planted mines and explosives in the two houses which were to be destroyed.., the tanks and helicopters were to oversee the operation; f) the two houses were at last demolished signaling the beginning of the end for the village of « Arab Al-Sawad ». The inhabitants were forcefully dispersed, their lands were taken away in accordance with Defense Ministry decisions.

In the above context, the decision of the Council of Ministers introduced a new vocabulary, new euphemisms. «Development» and not «Jewification is the aim of expropriation. They also described their new plan as « the settling of Galilee in the framework of a development plan. » However, « Davar, » the Israeli newspaper, described the matter as « Jewification and not settling of Galilee » (March 1, 1976).

Why ? Ever since the creation of the Israeli state in 1948, the Palestinians who remained within the boundaries of the new state were concentrated in the Upper Galilee region. The estimated Arab population in Israel has grown to about half a million as they continue to be concentrated in that region. The Israeli authorities have been expressing concern and alarm over this fact. Such a large concentration of Palestinian Arabs in one region (about 80% of the population in Galilee) in Israeli opinion poses a threat to the Jewish nature of the Zionist state. To remedy the situation, this new Jewification — « Development » plan has been invoked so as to introduce an influx of Jewish immigrations to Galilee to insure the Zionist composition of the state.

PALESTINIANS RESPOND :

Our masses were not deceived by the newly invoked schemes. They calmly but resolutely organized a mass campaign resulting in the convening of a people's mass assembly through which they declared their firm opposition to any land expropriations. On March 6, 1976 another meeting was held in Nazareth where representatives of most Arab towns and villages participated. *They decided to call for a general strike on March 30 which henceforth has become known as « The Day of the Land », a new landmark of the Palestinian struggle for liberation. With this declaration our masses proclaimed and ascertained their Palestinian identity. With this as a background « The Day of the Land » promised to be a truly all Palestinian affair where all Palestinians will celebrate their Palestinian land.*

THE REVOLT

All newspaper and press agencies reported that March 30, the « Day of the Land », witnessed the largest mass uprising in Occupied Palestine since 1948. *The Palestinians by the thousands went to the streets armed with sticks, stones, Molotov bombs and most importantly a heart burning with the desire for Freedom and Liberation.* They engaged the enemy forces who were armed to the teeth in direct confrontations. Many were injured and some were martyred. Of course the enemy troops sustained severe losses also, but most importantly they were surprised or even astonished by the anger and determination of the Palestinian people. One such soldier expressed his fears as he wept, « They tried to burn me alive. » The demonstrators had surrounded his car and tried to burn it. In a more revealing remark the chief of one of the police precincts, Joseph Salameh, described his astonishment as follows, « I never anticipated that matters would reach to this point. They attacked us with rocks the size of water-melons, and with torches soaked with gasoline with which they started fires... Do you know that I was under the impression that they actually wanted to kill us. »

The Israeli authorities desperately tried to prevent the Palestinians from taking part in the revolt. They issued curfews, brought border guards to assist the « security » forces, but the people paid no heed. « The Day of the Land » was their rendez-vous with destiny — the land, that no sacrifice was too great for its liberation.

Details of the revolt are well known by now, but what is important to emphasize is that the uprising has not ended. In Galilee, Nazareth, Haifa, Ramallah, Jineen, Nablus, Jerusalem and all over the spirit of constructive revolt prevails. Our masses have openly declared their opposition to the existence of the Zionist racist entity — Israel. Instead they have made public their solutions namely the establishment of a Democratic solution, that resolves and encompasses the interests and rights of the

In analysing the results of the elections in the occupied territories, prudence requires that we postpone elation until we have had ample time to critically evaluate the results. It is true that a large number of the eligible voters did participate in the elections However it is also a fact that Israel pressured the Palestinians into voting by threatening to close their shops or to revoke their licence to operate. In addition they were threatened to be denied travel permits etc. On another level, the Israelis tried to present themselves to the world as the most « democratic » conquerers — their proof being the permitting of the conquered to elect their own local representatives.

In Bulletin 19-20 (« National Authority » and « Regional Autonomy » — New Zionist Schemes p. 3) we wrote of the elections : « Israel plans

Jews, Muslims, and Christians in the framework of a progressive Democratic Palestine.

With the passage of time, our people began to bury our most recent martyrs who fell on the alter of revolution. As they conducted the funerals, their sadness and grief were transformed into anger as they shouted slogans against Zionist colonization of the Palestinian land.

These events have caused many people to warn Israel that it must solve its « Palestinian problem » if it wishes to survive as a state. Former occupation Commander of Nablus and the Gaza Strip, Zvi Al Peleg, wrote in the Tel Aviv newspaper « Yediot Aharonat », « The stones thrown will not drive Israel out of the area. But perhaps they will shatter some illusions about our being the wises: and best conquerers in history ». Indeed the illusion has now been discovered by many, but the most important fact remains that liberation will still require a long arduous struggle, a veritable people's movement armed with the theory of people's war translated through revolutionizing practice leading to a Democratic Palestine.

Our masses' revolt is like a time-bomb in the womb of Israeli society. As it acquires a broader perspective it poses itself as the genesis of a new order, a social system that is the negation of the racist Zionist entity. Briefly, Occupied Palestine is pregnant with a new social order — A Democratic Palestine.

« DAY OF THE LAND » - MASS RALLY

March 30, « The Day of the Land » has become a Palestinian Feast that we will celebrate every year. In turn, it was decided to make of this day an international protest against the racist Zionist occupation of Palestine On this occasion the people's organizations and unions organized an informational campaign that culminated in a mass-rally in Beirut.

The rally itself was a clear expression of the necessity of a united stand in face of the Zionist enemy in Palestine and the Imperialist-Reactionary on-slaught in Lebanon. *The unity expressed at the rally, in spite of the existing political differences in the Palestinian resistance movement, was a clear warning to all forces that in Lebanon the unity of the Palestinian rank in alliance with the Progressive Lebanese movement is a solid fact. This united stand was our gift to our masses in Occupied Palestine on the occasion of «The Day of the Land»*

The rally commenced with the Lebanese and Palestinian national anthems and as Yasser Arafat entered the auditorium he embraced George Habash. This famous embrace was met with great approval as the masses attending the rally shouted patriotic slogans. In addition to the presence of both Palestinian leaders, Abou Ayyed of Fateh and Ahmad Al-Khatib, the leader of the Lebanese Arab Army, were present. Several speeches were delivered of which we enclose some excerpts.

George Habash delivered a short address which he commenced in the following manner .

The revolutionary brother Abou Ammar (Arafat);

Dear revolutionary brothers :

« Our Palestinian Arab masses, our Arab masses... On this day, the Day of the Land, we declare before you, before history and the entire world that the land of Palestine is our land, Jerusalem is our Jerusalem, that Galilee is our Galilee, the Aksa Mosque is our Mosque and the Church of Nativity is our Church... We declare before you that our people who have fought for more than 50 years against Zionist colonization, will continue to struggle against all enemy plots... in defense of our Arab Palestine.

On the Day of the Land there is only one statement for the Palestinian Revolution : Liberation of every centimeter of the Palestinian soil and the continuation of the revolution until such is accomplished. On this occasion when the blood of our people is being shed... the Palestinian Revolution has only one statement to be presented by Abou Ammar.

... Reliance on the masses first of all and the guns they carry coupled with the national unity that knows when and how to unite, and knows how to control our internal differences so as to remain strong in the confrontation with the Zionist enemy;... The adapting of a clear political line that rejects Zionism, Israel, Imperialism and its plots and which rejects all capitulationist settlements, that rejects all settlements that provide for the continuation of the Zionist entity on our land.. Armed with these weapons : the masses, the gun, national unity, a clear and correct political line, the unity of the Palestinian and Lebanese and Arab struggle, and our alliance with the forces of progress the world over,... We will regain our homeland.. *Finally, the Palestinian Revolution when confronted with difficult circumstances against attacks that seek to terminate it or encircle it, then in spite of any differences concerning any political position, the Palestinian Revolution stands as one.* »

Abou Ammar (Arafat) in his turn addressed the rally :

« The plots against our revolution are increasing and multiplying but they will be smashed on the rock of the unity between the brave soldier of the Lebanese Arab Army and the courageous Palestinian militant... It is true that these plots are increasing, but in the name of these cubs (young Fidayeen), in the name of the generation of the future... In the name of the militants, all our women, men and the old, in the name of the gun of the Palestinian militant and the Lebanese Arab Army.. these plots will be crushed on the rock of Palestinian national unity as they are being crushed every day on the

WEST BANK ELECTIONS

to indicate that the elected officials have emerged as a result of the people's demands through the legality of the ballot box. In Israel's viewpoint the elected officials are the dejure representatives of the people, and not the resistance movement. »

The convening of the second round of the elections on April 12, 76, resulted in the election of 148 members to the membership of various local municipalities. These elections in Israeli strategy aim to prepare the groundwork for the realization of the Peres Scheme of « Regional Autonomy » (see above cited article — Bulletin 19-20). The basic aim of both steps was summarized by Israeli Defense Minister Peres on April 6, 76 : ... It would be unwise not to learn from past mistakes in our relations with the Arabs, hence it is important to clarify that *coexistence* is deemed desirable by both sides. (Arabs and Israelis) »

However Peres was quick to warn the newly elected members : « All those who seek to take advantage of their new positions and to use them as political platforms forwarding nationalistic or leftist ideas will be regarded as a challenge and not a danger to Israel. » The coup de grace was finally delivered by the Israeli Broadcast of April 14, 76 : « The election results are not binding to the military administrator. According to military regulations he can appoint anyone he deems necessary. It is also within his jurisdiction to appoint people to the municipalities that were not elected, and could even appoint him as the head of the municipality. » Israeli « Liberal Colonial Democracy » has at last uncovered its mask.

Now let us look at the actual results. Most of the newly elected officials have been described as pro PLO. However only days after the termination of these elections many of them « have decided to restore order and quiet to their respective areas, because these demonstrations make it impossible to introduce the municipal reforms that they had promised. They also threaten the economic well being of the West Bank. In addition the students should prepare themselves for their examinations. » (Agence de Presse France)

Furthermore, other elected officials have expressed their opposition to the military operations of the resistance movement and have expressed their endorsement of U.N. Security Council Resolution No. 242. Clearly the new mayor of Hebron and others have expressed opposition to armed struggle, opposition to the continuation of the people's uprising, and in turn have endorsed the resolution that the PLO has refused. All this has been done under the guise of being pro PLO.

The steps taken by such people will for a period of time be conducted under the protection of the formal and legal recognition by : 1) The occupation authorities; 2) the PLO. Under such a cover they can proceed to better « Israeli Palestinian cooperation. »

Briefly, we should recognize that under colonial rule the only form of « democracy » that can exist is colonial in nature. More than ever, prudence and a thorough understanding are required so as to uncover the actual intentions of Israeli plans. The masses' uprising has proven beyond a shadow of a doubt that there is only one way for liberation — Armed struggle to liberate all of Palestine and establish a democratic solution.

« DAY OF THE LAND » MASS RALLY

rock of Palestinian-Lebanese unity...

We shall not give up one centimeter of Palestine... We shall fight a long-term People's War to recover our land... America yesterday declared that the 6th Fleet is within a day's sailing of Lebanon... It is welcome. We shall sink it here and make of the country another Vietnam. »

Abou Ayyad :

« *No to tutelage and No to containment.* »

He emphasized the need of continuing armed struggle for the liberation of every centimeter of Palestine and the establishment of a democratic state. He also emphasized national unity as a pre-requisite for victory.

« From the land of Lebanon we declare to the world, that it will not find a single militant and revolutionary from the midst of our people who is willing to give up his land and people. *This revolution will continue to preserve its free and spangling banner, and will not be pressured by any attempts of tutelage over it or containment. Its only slogan and banner is the gun.*

Ahmad Al-Khatib, the leader of the Lebanese Arab Army declared before all, that his army will continue on the road to revolution :

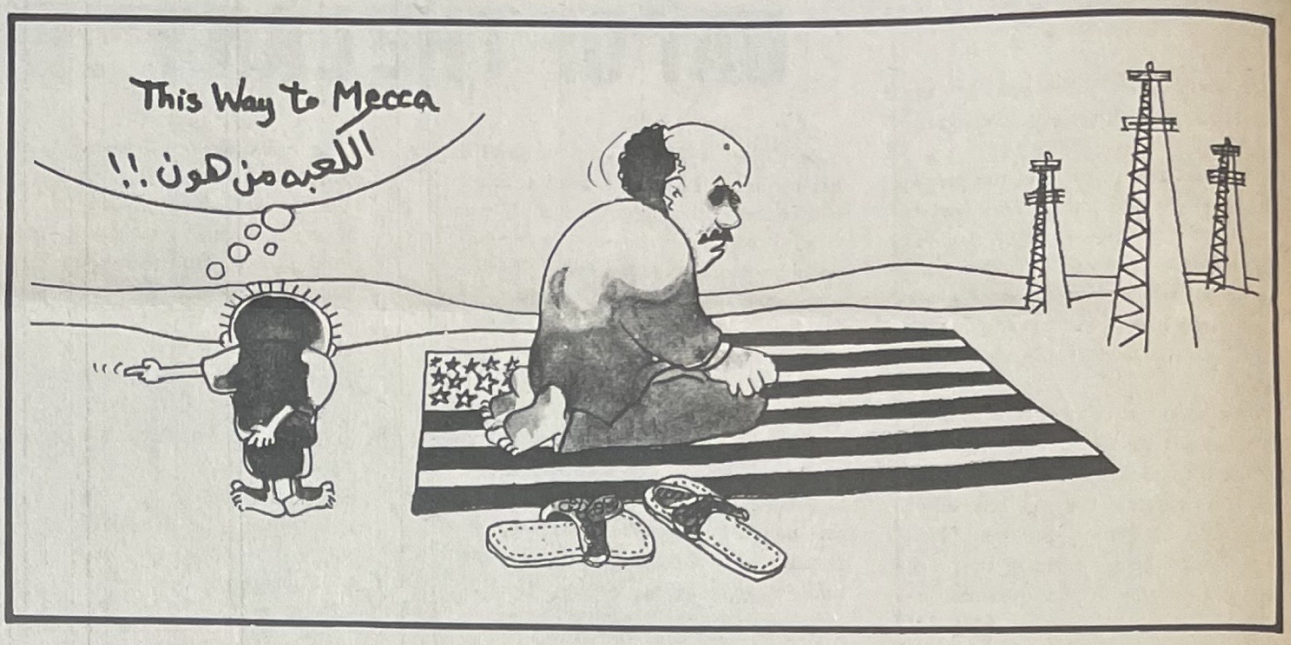
« Not only to liberate Lebanon, but to liberate our sacred Palestine and every centimeter of our Arab homeland. »

Moreover, he directed a closing remark to the masses of Occupied Palestine :

« We are fighting the agents and collaborarors of Zionism, however, you have the honor of having borne and resisted Zionism. *We are fighting with Faith and weapons, and you are fighting with the weapon of Faith. You are armed with rocks of the earth, may they strike the Zionists as bombs on their heads.* »

The termination of the mass rally was in itself a new beginning. The Palestinian Resistance and the Lebanese Progressive Movement have firmly declared that there is no force that can divide them in their present endeavor to terminate the confessional basis of Lebanese society.

One last peripheral point is worth mentioning. In the aftermath of the mass-rally the ordinary simple people of the camps as they talked about the rally were quick to point out the forces that were totally absent from it : Hawatmeh's Democratic Front, and the Syrian backed Saika were not there which prompted an old man in one of the camps to ponder — Why... ?



SADAT : SERVANT OF IMPERIALISM

« *There must be something rotten in the very core of a social system which increseases its wealth without deminishing its misery , and increases in crime even more rapidly than in numbers.* »

Karl Marx

It is neither surprising nor ironic when Secretary of State Henry Kissinger vehemently supports U.S. intentions to sell arms to Egypt. He prodently described U.S. intentions as « *compensation and a show of Goodwill for Egyptian moderation* ». He then alluded that such sales would further enable the U.S. to increase its hegemony over the affairs of the Middle East region. In turn, Donald Rumsfeld, U.S. Secretary of Defense, indicated that the continued improvement in U.S.-Egyptian relations will better the possibilities for « peace » in the Middle East. Moreover, Rumsfeld jubilently pointed out that « *Egypt has shown clear indications of diminishing its imports and trade with the Soviet Union, and has embarked on a road of reliance on the U.S.* »

Sadat's reliance on the U.S. and the capitalist market system has helped to further deform the structural basis of the Egyptian economy. Such developments are dialectically connected with the ascent of the right, the negation of socialism and the accentuation of capitalist « virtues ». (See Bulletin No. 19-20 « Sadat, the Sinai Accords — On the Road to Total Capitulation »).

To elucidate this dialectical relationship it is imperative that we explain Egypt's present economic crisis in connection with Sadat's capitulationist strategy.

TRIP OF DESPERATION

On February 21 of this year, Sadat undertook a trip covering Saudi Arabia, Oman, Abu Dhabi, Qatar, Bahrain, and Kuwait. The topics he discussed were financial aid, Middle East peace efforts; tension in Egyptian-Syrian relations; Egyptian-Saudi relations. Basically, however, the purpose of his trip was the consolidation and mobilization of the Arab right wing, the tool through which Imperialism hopes to strike the Palestinian resistance movement and the Arab Liberation movement as a whole. Previously Sadat had declared that the year 1976, is the «*year of the Palestinians*». Since he anticipates the unfolding of a « *total* » settlement of the Palestinian question, it is necessary that he exerts efforts to unify the Arab right wing so as to thwart the Palestinian revolution.

To the dismay of the U.S., Sadat, Israel and Arab reactionaries, certain obstacles prevent the success of their goal i.e., the elimination of the forces of the Arab revolution. First, the Palestinian resistance movement not only has defeated the fascist plot of the Phapangists, but they continue to grow both in Lebanon and in the occupied territories. Second, the Sinai Accords have been limited to Egypt. No other Arab countries have reached such « *accords* ». This has resulted in the isolation of the Sadat regime from the Arab world, especially since the disclosure of the secret measures of the Sinai Accords, which has been simultaneously carried out by an ever increasing U.S. economic and military aid to Israel. Third, Sadat is facing deep internal problems manifested through either economic crisis or growing unrest and opposition to his policies.

With these obstacles clearly in mind a desperate double-pronged campaign has been invoked to save Sadat : *A) spreading capitulation to a broader Arab level; and, B) provide Sadat with an emerging economic transfusion to prevent the collapse of the economy.* This strategy is to be translated through the unification of the Arab right wing forces in a single united front so as to hide the U.S.-Sadat manoeuvers. This is to be coupled with economic aid whose aim is to prevent or quell a mass uprising.

With this in mind, Sadat embarked upon his tour of the Arab oil states. His goal was to amass about $4 billion in aid. His trip however was a blunder as he was only able to get a total of $750 billion. He still has hopes of developing closer ties with the oil producing nations (Arab) and in particular Saudi Arabia. He is anxious to develop such strong ties with the latter because it is the « *most important oil producer and a firm ally of the U.S. Maintaining good relations with Saudi Arabia would enhance Sadat's prestige in the Arab World and would also strengthen his position vis-a-vis the U.S.* » (An Nahar — Arab Report Vo. 7, No. 9, 1 March 1976).

BRIEF OVERVIEW OF EGYPT'S CRISIS

Egypt is a country where the dichotomy between rich and poor is crystal clear. It has 500 big millionaires who are nothing but parasites gobbling up Egypt's wealth, engaging in fast money, making schemes and always neglecting the building of a sound economic base upon which a prosperous economy can be managed and planned. In the meantime, long queues of people are formed everyday to purchase basic necessities

such as : rice, sugar, tea, soap, lentils, and meat. The longer the queues, the more elaborate the Black market, the richer the « fat cats » become.

From 1973 to the present the cost of necessary nutritional items has increased by rates ranging from 40% to 60%. Between October 1974 and 1975, the following increases have been registered : increase in the cost of household goods — 33.6%; dairy products — 24.2%; meat, eggs and fish — 23.4%. In the meantime wages have remained constant, which means that a general corresponding decrease in the living standard has also taken place. Simultaneously, total agricultural production in comparison with population growth has suffered a definite decline. This is to be contrasted with a 3% increase in the rate of agricultural production in the previous decade. This means that Egypt, which once exported wheat and oil (vegetable), will have to begin importing both commodities. In the near future, it will also have to import sugar, fava beans, lentils and will refrain from exporting rice.

On a different level we can observe the following : the present rate of inflation in Egypt is running at 15-20%. The deficit in the Balance of Trade in the first six months of 1975 equalled $1584 million as compared to the $264.8 million of the same period in 1974. « In addition, Egypt is desperate for hard currency for economic development, repair of neglected public services and consumer goods, including imports of grain and other basic foodstuffs. Egypt's balance-of-payments deficit for the current year is expected to be almost $5 billion, including the servicing of foreign debts ». (International Herald Tribune Feb. 27, 1976).

However, since Egypt's economy is geared towards a reliance on foreign imports, its debts are unlikely to diminish. Enclosed below is a table published by the World Development Bank of the quantities exported to and imported from Egypt for the countries :

Import	*Export*	*Import*	*Country*	*Export*
1975	*1974*	*1974*		*1975*
0.1	0.4	0.4	Canada	4.4
19.4	117.4	29.8	France	231.2
27	87	35	West Germany	200
38.6	29.7	30.9	Italy	146.7
7.4	14.2	87	Japan	73.9
13.6	17.4	6.4	Holland	46.9
5.6	16.6	10.5	Switzerland	31.5
60.9	53.7	62.6	Britain	103.6
3	226	35	U.S.A.	385

The above figures clearly illustrate Egypt's increasing reliance on foreign imports coupled with a decrease of exports to these countries. This relationship compounds Egypt's dependence on the capitalist market system. This relationship also makes Egypt accept the ramifications of such a system i.e., the imperialist political conditions that are an integral part of such a relationship. Capitulation to Imperialism is the only possible outcome of such a road. We remind our readers of the definition we gave to capitulation in PFLP Bulletin 19.20. (Sadat, the Sinai Accords, on the Road to Total Capitulation »).

> « *Briefly then, capitulation is : 1) Relinquishing the political-economic independence of the Arab nation; 2) Disowning the Palestinian cause; 3) Non-confrontation of the political-economic interests of imperialism in the region; 4) Developing an organic relationship with the forces of reaction so as to intensify the campaign to eliminate the forces of progress. All these developments are necessary political-economic pre-requisites for imperialism to exploit the resources of the region and in particular oil. These developments are under-pinned by the recognition of Zionism's right to exist, which is at the expense of the national rights of the Palestinian people* ».

EMPTY PROMISES

Sadat's failure to obtain the needed economic aid is obvious. He did not come close to the $4 billion he needs. The $750 million which he obtained are like a drop in the bucket. The Arab oil producers also promised to establish the « Arab Development Trust », reminiscent of the « Loan Fund » during Mohamad Ali's reign which was one of the direct reasons for British occupation of Egypt.

Last year, the U.S. suggested the formation of a consortium from among Arab states to extend economic aid to Egypt. The project however was never operationalized. In short, in spite of all the concessions Sadat has made to the U.S. he has received little real assistance. In the meantime, the U.S. has showered Israel with its economic and military blessings.

It is to be noted that the size of U.S. aid to Egypt in 1976 will reach approximately $950 million. Of this amount, $250 million is for purchases of U.S. agricultural surpluses. Another $200 million is a grant, whereas the remaining $500 million are to be granted as a long term loan. In other words, in a few years, Egypt will be repaying the U.S. not the loan, but the interest on the interest of the above transaction. To cement these deals, Secretary of the Treasury Simmons has already rendered Egypt a visit on the 5th of March. He will soon be followed by respective visits by David Rockefeller and Robert McNamara.

Based on the results of U.S. aid to Egypt in 1975 which amounted to $442 million, we conclude that the consumer products purchased by the U.S. produced no results (mostly negative). The « aid » which Egypt (like most other « dependent » or « peripheral » economies) receives from the U.S. or through such schemes as the « Arab Development Trust », is not capable of generating any real growth or development. Such aid is intended only for the purchase of consumer commodities, or the establishment of fast money making projects that produce a lucrative economic yield for the ruling class. It is neither intended nor is it capable of generating real development predicated on a central planning which takes into account the immediate needs of the masses at large.

As such, the « open door » policy (see Bulletin 19-20 article on Sadat) on the economic level has meant the importation of capital to build luxury high rises, or apartment houses, or hotels. Foreign beers (Danish, German) are available as are other consumer goods such as expensive cheeses, varieties of canned fruits, caviar, and last but not least, « Kentucky Fried Chicken » and « Wimpy » are mushrooming in Cairo. In addition, foreign cars are crowding Cairo's already crowded and highly polluted streets. Such an influx of socially unnecessary consumerism accentuates Egypt's economic crisis. These policies broaden the gap between rich and poor, hence accelerating the class struggle, a fact which will render Sadat extinct sooner than he deems comfortable.

WHAT NEXT ?

Sadat's failure to attain the needed results from his tour of the Arab oil states, and the U.S. reluctance to make any serious advances towards a political « settlement » at this time, (due to the upcoming U.S. election) leaves Sadat in quite a precarious condition. He tried to find excuses for the predicaments he finds himself in by launching a smear campaign on Nasser. This tactic has proven futile, as it has re-awakened some of the silent Nasserites in Egypt.

This development is to be coupled with the continued development, no matter how modest, of the left wing forces in Egypt. The above is best personified through the increasing wave of class actions organized by Egypt's working class.

Simply put, Sadat has reached the stage of no-return, and from now on the road is uphill and promises to produce diminishing returns for Sadat — a good sign for the Egyptian people.

March 7/76

SADAT'S NEW VOCABULARY

Sadat : « We have left the days of sloganeering and have now embarked upon a new era of total clarity in which all questions must be studied from all angles. We can not afford to be isolated from the world, nor to communicate with it in a language that does not correspond to the realities of the new era ».

« The days of sloganeering » were when Egypt firmly adhered to a progressive and patriotic stance in confronting imperialism. « Isolation from the world » in Sadat's language is equivalent to opposition to U.S. imperialist strategy. Note the nuance, the world is the U.S.A. as far as Sadat is concerned.

Sadat's « new language » does not provide for classifications that differentiate between Arab countries that are reactionary and progressive or patriotic. To him such words are « imported », and the sole purpose of their utilization is « the dividing and weakening of the Arab world ». These « imported » classifications, national, progressive or reactionary are to be disregarded, hence in Sadat's « language » there is no real difference between the Qaboos regime in Oman and the Algerian regime.

On the other hand, these who support the « Sinai Accords » and who are collaborating with Washington and Kissinger are « the Arabs who do not import their ideas ».

The newly adopted language of the Sadat era wants us to believe that U.S. imperialism is the true ally of the Arab people and not the socialist countries and the forces of progress the world over.

Sadat's « new language » has been exemplified in foreign policy affairs in the following manner :

a. Excellent relations with Pinochet's fascist regime in Chile.
b. Friendly relations and support of the Qaboos regime in Oman.
c. Support of U.S. policy in Angola.
d. « Neutral » position concerning the conflict in the Sahara, because King Hassan is a good « friend ».
e. Support of Zionist policy which rejects any changes in U.N. Resclutions 242, 338.
f. Support of Zionist policy as regards the proposed Geneva Conference.

Last but not least, Sadat is willing to await the termination of the U.S. elections in 1976, because no American president (in particular one who was not elected by popular vote i.e., Ford) can afford to take a firm decision as regards hot issues like the Middle East. He simply asks that the Arab people abide by the « American Way » — Pax-Americana, as if it were the only way. This is the « new » Sadat language !

ISRAEL ZANGWILL'SI

CHALLENGE TO ZIONISM

The following article was originally published in the « Journal of Palestine Studies » Spring 1975. We reprint in the Bulletin to present our readers with an informative and well written article on one of the most interesting personalities who challenged Zionism after having been a Zionist. Editor

BY HANI A. FARIS

We return to our old slogan. Scrap Zionism and build Palestine. This is language which the Arabs will understand. Only after Zionism has been honourably interred will the two races work together.
« Zangwill Reports Zionism to be Dead, » Current Opinion, LXXV (December 1923), p. 718.

Israel Zangwill was a prominent British writer and activist who participated as a member in the First, Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Zionist Congresses, and attended the Second, Third and Fourth Zionist Congresses as an observer. Subsequently, he turned against Zionism and founded the Jewish Territorial Organization, which he headed from its formation to its dissolution, and which advocated an alternative non-Zionist solution to the Jewish problem.

This essay is an attempt to describe and analyse Israel Zangwill's thought in the pre-Territorial and Territorial phases. In one man, the two streams, Zionist and anti-Zionist, existed alternately. The essay therefore is basically concerned with Zangwill's psychological and ideological change with regard to Zionism. But beyond this it offers insight into the phenomenon of modern Jewish self-doubt and self-criticism, a subject whose importance has often been neglected by studies of Jewish nationalism.

1. The Background : Zangwill's Early Life and Thought

Zangwill was born in 1864 into a poor Jewish immigrant family living in what was known as the London Ghetto. In this area of the East End of London called whitechapel, masses of Jewish immigrants, mainly from East Europe, were crowded together in unsanitary and impoverished conditions. Although the ghetto was not like that of Warsaw and Kiev, where Jews were confined by law within a certain area, but was rather the product of self-segregation, Jewish life was beset by discrimination and poverty. The City of London imposed restrictions on Jewish trading, and the lack of capital or training forced many Jews into the occupations of peddling and small-scale selling. Zangwill's father, to support his five children, had to endure the hardships of being an itinerant peddler in the surrounding countryside.

An inescapable feature of the environment was the practice of and challenge to the Jewish religion. Within the Ghetto, Jewish religious law was enforced, and it regulated the lives of the people from the moment of birth until the hour of death. But the system was not without its opponents : the young in particular revolted against the rigid ceremonial. Zangwill himself, by the age of 13, was violating the Passover and was drawn to the ways of the world outside, despite his father's wish to turn him into a Rabbi. Such tensions are visible in the work that first brought fame to Zangwill, *Children of the Ghetto* (1892), which related stories of some fifty typical Jewish characters living in the East End of London and revealed the manners, customs, and intimate relationships of a section of humanity whose existence was little known to the world. One of its main themes was the conflict that dominated the lives of the simple London Ghetto folk during the transition of the Ghetto children from the fixed conceptions of their fathers and forefathers to the newly developed democratic spirit then prevailing outside their world. The attempts to harmonize the Orthodoxy of the fathers with the liberalism of the youth often resulted in bitter clashes. Zangwill emphasized the by-products of these clashes by elaborating on the miseries of broken homes, of children rebelling against their parents, and of parents disowning their children.

Children of the Ghetto, and other publications, illustrated the oppressed conditions of Jewish existence; they also raised religious questions that Zangwill developed outside the framework of creative literature. The perennial question « What is Judaism ? » preoccupied him. He maintained that the prophecies in both Biblical and Rabbinical Judaism had become outdated with the onset « of Rationalism and Tolerance. »1 His early religious views revolved around the relationship of Judaism to the rest of mankind. « Essential Judaism, » as Zangwill called it, had produced a noble ideal that contained the nucleus of the brotherhood of man. This was the aim of utilizing self-perfection, a condition brought about by observing the ritual law, as an instrument for the perfection of the world.2 It was the rise of Christianity and Islam that had resulted in « abolishing the authority of the ritual law » thus barring the advancement of this ethical and political conception.

Since the rise of Christianity, and then of Islam, Zangwill believed Judaism had lost its direct influence on the outside world. It had been « dead to the world for over a thousand years.» But not only had it been dead to the world, but also dead to itself. It remained stereotyped and immobile. The fact that it was still alive was due only to the Ghetto ages, where Judaism « retained suspended animation » and became self-centered. Zangwill proceeded to say that « though the stagnation of its energizing units, Judaism *qua* religion has been a waste force in the world. »3

There was, however, a qualification to be made; in modern times, Judaism had regained its vitality. According to Zangwill, two factors were responsible for the new situation. The first was the increasing scepticism of Christians regarding their dogma concerning Christ's divinity. The second was the affinity of the positive side of Judaism, as represented by the Mosaic code, to the modern spirit.4

The Mosaic code had good qualities on the whole, Zangwill explained; it also had certain defects. In particular, it did not take the need for change into due consideration. « Its wisdom is the wisdom of age and the ages, not the divine discontent of youth. The young do not understand it at all... »5 His rebellion was not total, and did call for retaining what was significant in tradition, but he was decidedly in favour of innovation.

To remedy the defects of Judaism, Zangwill suggested the following steps: Judaism should accept the Hellenic cult of beauty6 which included art, aesthetics, and general culture.7 It should abandon the idea of an unexpected Jewish Messiah and consider Jesus as one belonging to the succession of Hebrew prophets.8 Zangwill, in *Dreamers of the Ghetto*, portrayed the Jesus that was to be accepted by Judaism as « Christ — not the tortured God, but the joyous comrade, the friend of all simple souls ... not the theologian... but the man of genius protesting against all forms and dogmas that would replace the direct vision... »9 It is interesting to note that South is a microcasm of the situation in Zangwill admired the part of the rebel in the life of Jesus.

The final remedy that Zangwill proposed was that Judaism should absorb the culture of the day and remember that national existence was not its ideal. He asserted that « it must come out of the debris of the Ghetto, » enlarge its moral vision, and continue its mission of bringing about the brotherhood of man. He voiced fear that Jews were too apt to forget that neither nationalism nor patriotism was their ideal or goal.10 Jews should live up to the spirit and ideals of Judaism rather than its letter.

Zangwill's move from a position of concern for Jewish existence into an association with Zionism was a by-product of his personal friendship with Theodor Herzl. Their relationship began in 1895, when Herzl, seeking support among English Jews for his projected Jewish state, was referred to Zangwill by Dr. Max Nordau. In the entry of November 21, 1895, Herzl wrote in his *Diaries* :

> Visit to Israel Zangwill, the writer. He lives in Kilburn, NW. A drive in the fog through endless streets. Arrived a bit out of sorts The house is rather shabby. In his book-lined study Zangwill sits before an enormous writing table with his back to the fireplace Also close to the fire, his brother reading. Both give one the impression of shivering southerners who have been cast up on the shores of Ultima Thule. Israel Zangwill is of the long-nosed Negroid type, with very woolly deep-black hair, parted in the middle : his cleanshaven face displays the steely haughtiness of an honest ambitious man who has made his way after bitter struggles. The disorder in his rooms and on his desks leads me to infer that he is an internalized person. I have

not read any of his writings, but I think I know him. He must bestow all the care that is lacking in his outward appearance on his style... we agree on major points. He, too, is in favour of our territorial independence...11

In a tribute to Herzl, Zangwill recalling their first encounter states : « It seems only the other day since a black-bearded stranger knocked at my study door... and said 'I am Theodor Herzl. Help me to rebuild the Jewish state'.»12 In that meeting, Zangwill agreed with Herzl on the need for territorial independence, but disagreed on the subject of the Jewish race, and consequently, on what Zionism stood for. Herzl was content to regard the Jew as a purely biological phenomenon. His Zionism sought the preservation of the Jewish race in a Jewish state. Zangwill, on the other hand, regarded Zionism as a spiritual idea, and the Jewish state as a medium and missionary for human brotherhood. However, a close relationship arose between the two which was expressed clearly in Zangwill's words, « I was the first person that Mr. Herzl came to in London... I worked for him loyally as a perfect slave for a great many years... »13

Up to 1901, Zangwill, although he had accepted the Zionist idea, was not yet committed to the movement. He wrote a letter to Montagu David Eder in 1896 saying, « I don't know if the project of the new Jewish state reached you. Dr. Herzl, a journalist and dramatist of Vienna, came to me with an introduction from Max Nordau, and startled the Jewries of England and Europe with a project for buying Palestine. It has rather simmered down now. »14 Zangwill, although he accepted the notion of a Jewish state, was clearly not yet active in its realization. His main concern was still his literary career, and writing filled up most of his time. In the following years, however, Zangwill began to play a prominent part in shaping Zionist policy,15 a process encouraged by Herzl, who involved Zangwill in helping to arrange meetings and to facilitate contacts with Jewish financiers to support his ambitious projects. Commenting on this development, Herzl wrote in his *Diaries* on February 9, 1901 of « Zangwill, who has become very nice and is all Zionist... »16

2. The Zionist Phase

Zangwill's link with the Zionist movement extended from 1895 to 1905. During this period, he came to view the Jewish problem differently. Early on in the period, when describing the First Zionist Congress, he had written that most Jews were concerned with preserving their civil rights and improving their situation within the countries in which they lived.17 But as he became more Zionist, the anti-Semitism of these countries took on a more sinister and ineradicable aspect. He likened the phenomenon of anti-Semitism to an epidemic that moved from one country to another without a halt. As long as societies suffered from social maladies, the Jew was indicted and always held responsible for these maladies.18 Anti-Semitism was almost universal, the one exception being the Ottoman Empire.

> Looking round the world, we see to our astonishment, of all the countries inhabited by a large Jewish population, only one country free from Anti-Semetism, only one country in which the Jewish inhabitants live at absolute peace with their neighbours, and that is the Ottoman Empire.19

There was little that could be hoped for elsewhere. The hostility against Jews passed down from the Dark Ages, the racial antagonism of Europe, and the commercial and industrial competition between its inhabitants and their Jewish co-nationals, gave the Jew every basis for despairing of Christendom. In Zionism, however, there was always the hope that Jewish dignity would be increased, and the Jews themselves would be rid of the tradition of money-lending and « Jewing » (as Zangwill put it), by their strenuous aspiration for a new identity.20

The Jewish problem was not merely that of a people threatened from without, Zangwill believed; it was also the danger of disintegration from within. Whereas other races had a territory that served as an « unchanging background for a succession of beliefs, » the Jews lacked such a background. Consequently, and due to the breakdown of the Ghetto, the inevitable changes in their belief would lead to their disintegration.21 It is interesting to note at this point that Zangwill, who in his early life had been for innovation and change in Judaism, seemed to view it as being fatal to Judaism in his Zionist phase.

Zangwill discussed disintegration in terms of the dangers of isolation and assimilation. The first, according to him, varied « between Rabbinic conservatism and Philistine radicalism. »22 As to the second, although in his early life Zangwill regarded the emancipation movement as having been beneficial to the Jews, in his Zionist phase he came to regard emancipation as detrimental. The emancipation movement, he argued, threatened to dissolve Judaism. In Judaism « all is religion, and religion is all, » but a Jew according to Zangwill was dead to his religion when no longer secluded behind ghetto walls but assimilated into the society, for assimilation was bound to end in fusion. Only a re-nationalization of Judaism would be able to preserve the Jewish identity.23

Zangwill's basic premise was that Jewish assimilation was only too possible. The Jew, he said, manifested a « ready adaptability to his European environment. » In the countries that bestowed freedom on their citizens, Jews very easily became unorthodox.24 At the time, the bulk of world Jewry were living in Russia. Though the majority of them had not yet assimilated into Russian society, this process had already begun. To propagate the Zionist goal of working for Jewish separateness, Zangwill argued that Jews living in Russia should not « exercise their aptitude for assimilation. »25 Their assimilation to the Russian peasantry, he said, would degrade rather than uplift them. Even if they wished to assimilate into their society and were indifferent to Zionism, Zangwill argued, it would still make no difference because « people rarely want what they ought to want, or what will do them good. »26

In a state of their own, Jews would be in the majority, and their rules and rituals (such as compulsory closing on Saturdays) would predominate. They would be permitted to intermarry but this would remain very limited. Surprisingly enough, Zangwill, who married a Christian, proceeded to say « ...mixed marriages are rather a symptom and an effect of antecedent disintegration than the cause of disintegration. Two really religious persons of different faiths are not likely to combine their lives nor should they, even if they happen to be Jew and Jewess of different standpoint »27

Zangwill thought that to the two dangers to Judaism, persecution and disintegration, there were only four alternatives. These were national regeneration, religious regeneration, disappearance, and no remedy. He ruled out the last two and maintained that Zionism did not exclude the second. Religious regeneration had been Zangwill's reply in the pre-Zionist phase, but was now synthesized with Zionism in a reinterpretation of the Jewish problem.

In his exposition of Zionism, Zangwill maintained that the Zionist movement had four purposes : to obtain political concessions in Palestine from the Sultan, to obtain commercial concessions that could « perhaps be sold at a profit, » to purchase land, and to subsidize a Jewish immigration movement to Palestine. The realization of these purposes would promote a religious and national revival among the Jews, would undermine the danger to Judaism, and would help solve the Jewish problem.28

In the history of every people, there are important landmarks which ought to be remembered. The month of April provides three important landmarks for the Lebanese Progressive Movement and the Palestinian Resistance Movement.

April 23, 10, 13, have entered the annals of history as dark attempts by the Lebanese regime, the fascists and Israel to quell the Palestinian Resistance and the Lebanese Progressive Movement. Each attack by these forces helped to heighten the contradictions hence shattering the basis for the present (past) regime in Lebanon.

APRIL 23, 1969 : The Lebanese regime attacked a mass gathering in the area of Al Horj causing the death of many people. The attack which also aimed at the dividing of the Palestinian Resistance and the Lebanese Progressive Movement, in fact caused the contrary. Ever since 1969, April 23 has been celebrated as a symbol of the people.

APRIL 10, 73 : Israeli attack on three Palestinian leaders in the Verdun District of Beirut forced the resignation of the prime-minister. Two days later, the masses both Palestinian and Lebanese organized the largest demonstration in the history of Lebanon as they expressed their outrage at the regime's inaction and complicity with the Israeli attack causing the murder of Kamal Nasser, Kamal Adwan and Abou Yousef. These events led to the battles of May 73 between the Lebanese Army and the Palestinian Resistance Movement, in which the former was soundly defeated.

APRIL 13, 1975 : The beginning of the demise of the Lebanese regime which is based on confessionalism. The fascist Phalangist Party attacked a busload of Palestinians in Ein-Elrumaneh causing the martyrdom of 28. Ever since a major battle has been taking place whose aim is to give birth a new non-confessional, truly democratic regime. A new Arab progressive Lebanon is in the making.

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PFLO CONFRONTS IRANIAN REACTIONARY OFFENSIVE

The following interview with Abu Al-Ka[illegible] the militar[illegible] commander of the [illegible] region in Dhofar, was originally published in our weekly Arabic magazine « Al-Hadaf » of February 21, 1976. Though the interview is slightly old, it does provide the reader with an insight into the nature of the fighting in Oman. Moreover, when we speak of the « Imperialist Settlement » we are aware that it is directed not only at the Palestinian Resistance Movement, but all Arab movements waging armed struggle for the liberation of the Arab homeland. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman (PFLO) is leading their struggle under severe conditions, but victory is a certainty.

Q. Two years have elapsed since the beginning of the Iranian invasion of Dhofar. Would you tell us about the developments during that time ?

A. Early in 1973 the Shah of Iran began sending special troops and helicopters to support Sultan Qaboos and the British and Jordanian forces in Dhofar. By the end of the year, 1200 Iranian soldiers had been dispatched to clear the Muscat-Salala Highway. In October of 1974, Iranian troops arrived in the Central and Western regions in order to open the Red Line. When the unsuccessful drive against the Western region was launched in 1973, the number of Iranian troops involved reached a peak of 10,000. The capture of a senior British officer, along with maps and papers, uncovered the enemy's plot, with the result that the troops were withdrawn to the north. They were regrouped, however, for a final attack on October 15, 1975, at which time it was alleged that the revolution had been wiped out and that the enemy forces had swept the Western region up to the borders of Democratic Yemen. The truth is that the Iranian intervention came in the aftermath of Britain's military failure in October of 1971 and their subsequent decision not to conduct exclusively military campaigns, but rather, to rely on their advisors within Sultan Qaboos' army.

Q. How many Iranian, British and Jordanian soldiers are presently involved in the fighting in Oman ?

A. There are 25,000 Iranian troops, most of them along the *inner* borders of the Western region. The Jordanians have stationed artillery and infantry divisions as well as engineering units and some pilots. They have replaced Iranian troops at the Red Line. Ironically, the Jordanians have called this exchange of troops a withdrawal. In fact, Jordan transferred 31 Hawk Hunter warplanes to the Qaboos regime. These planes are stationed at Temrete, an air base second only to Salala, where squadrons of Phantoms are also available.

The Sultan's troops are estimated to number 14,000; most of them are international mercenaries, particularly from Baluchistan and Pakistan, who were attracted by the high salaries advertised in major Western newspapers. As for the British, their forces are based in Masira and Om-Gawaref. As I mentioned already, British involvement in the fighting since the fiasco of their 1971 military campaign has been reduced to lending their expertise to Qaboos' army. They are sponsoring all programs and exercises in engineering, infantry, and aviation, and Serfete is commanded by a British officer.

Q. Can you describe the weapons that these forces are using ?

A. In the air, they have introduced the Anglo-French Jaguar, a fighter-bomber scheduled for regular use in 1977. Other warplanes include the improved Hawk Hunter, Strike Master, and U.S. combat helicopters (also used for the first time), as well as the Phantom-4 and U.S.-manufactured AF-5, which are piloted by Iranians. For ammunition there are 500 to 1000 caliber shells and miscellaneous rockets and machine guns.

The Air Force played a major role in the last campaign but was forced to reduce its activities after 37 planes were downed. During our visit to Dhofar, the people told us twice in four days that they had seen a warplane catch fire and plunge behind a mountain « over there. » « Over there » means days and nights of walking, but we had no reason to doubt what they said.

At sea, Iranian warships and Qaboos' own gunboats are being used to locate the artillery of our fighters and to guide the warplanes to their targets. But the civilian population and their cattle are also subject to artillery bombardments from the sea, especially in the Western region.

Q. From a military point of view, how are you dealing with such invasions in the three regions of Dhofar ?

A. In general, our fighters are more capable of picking up the how and where of the military combat. Their thorough knowledge of the geography of the region, in particular, is very helpful, given the rough terrain in which we are fighting.

In the Western region the enemy has some strongholds and temporary checkpoints. The main task of the PFLO forces, therefore, is to evict them from these places. We put pressure on them by bombarding their positions with heavy artillery while other units ambush the patrols. Sometimes the freedom fighters engage in hand-to-hand combat with the bayonet to alienate the enemy air force and artillery.

The enemy's infantry was paralyzed after it lost its air cover as a result of our heavy ground-to-air resistance. At this point, the enemy is concentrating on maintaining its position in preparation for further advancements. In a word, our units are engaged in open and face-to-face fighting.

The situation is different in the East and Center, because the enemy's aim in the West was to isolate the entire region from the rest of the country, in the erroneous belief that the latter would collapse once the Western region was captured. PFLO forces are still dragging the enemy to the battlefield.

The strategy of the Iranian campaign was to capture the Western region because of its role as a base of support for the other regions. The October 15th campaign was the culmination of two years' effort in false anticipation of a great victory; in fact, all that the enemy was able to achieve was the planting of some checkpoints which are still subject to continuous attack from the PFLO, positions which cannot possibly be maintained for long.

It hardly needs to be stated that the PFLO fighters have displayed the utmost bravery and determination in their confrontations with the enemy. Although many enemy positions were given up in the last campaign, we know very well that it is regrouping its forces and studying its past mistakes in preparation for a new and decisive invasion. For our part we are trying to make our resistance decisive, too.

Q. The enemy is concentrating on areas populated by civilians. How do you protect those populations ?

A. Whenever the enemy fails to reach the PFLO fighters, it always resorts to deploying the air force against the civilians and their source of livelihood. Obviously the purpose of this tactic is to sow dissention between the PFLO and the masses. The response of the PFLO therefore is to intensify the ground-to-air defenses, alerting the people and instructing them in the best ways of protecting themselves, mainly by populating those areas beyond the reach of the enemy warplanes. These ef-

VORSTER IN ISRAEL — NAZIS UNITED !

In 1974 the U.N. suspended South Africa's membership because of its practice of Apartheid. In 1975 the U.N. voted on a resolution whereby Zionism was considered as a form of racism. 1975-76 has witnessed major victories for the African Liberation movement, particularly in Angola and Mozambique. These victories have encouraged and boosted the liberation process in both Zimbabwe and Namibia. These developments have increased South Africa's already deep sense of embattled isolation.

South Africa's counterpart — Israel — is also feeling an equal sense of insecurity and isolation. Diplomatically, they felt the pinch as the U.N. adopted

resolutions condemning Israel and equating Zionism as another form of racism. After the October War, 29 of the 33 Black African countries cut off diplomatic ties with Israel. In the past 3 months with the development of the largest Palestinian uprising against Zionist colonization, Zionist violence and ruthless rule has been exposed to the general world public opinion.

In contrasting the above developments, it would not be too difficult to comprehend why Afrikaners and Israelis consider hemselves as pioneers surrounded by enemies. Both regimes are preparing themselves to live in a state of continuous war. In this context, from their viewpoint, it makes sense that last year their diplomatic relations were raised to a full ambassadorial level. As reported by *Time* magazine trade between both countries « has multiplied from $3 million in 1961 to $120 million currently » (April 26, 1976).

In view of their mutual isolation from the world, John Vorster's four day visit makes « good sense ». *Vorster, an old Nazi sympathizer went to visit the racist bastion of the east, his only remaining good ally. The South African Broadcasting Corporation ironically, but accurately describes both states as « the only two western nations to have established themselves in a predominantly non-white part of the world ».*

The visit was conducted under a certain air of secrecy, and Vorster replied that it was « utter nonsense » when it was suggested that the South African prime minister was shopping for arms during his visit to Israel. In spite of this expected denial, accompanied by the commander of Israel's navy, he looked at a guided missile patrol boat built in Haifa. He also checked into the Israeli-made Kfir fighter-bomber, a special tank designed for desert conditions and an anti-tank helicopter still in the process of production. Though no mention was made of specific arms deals, we should not be surprised if such matters were agreed upon secretly. In return, Israel is to obtain strategic materials such as coal, chrome, platinum, titanium and the well known enriched South African uranium. In short, Israeli skilled labour and sophisticated electronics are being combined with South African wealth of resources underpinned by the availability of a hard currency and cheap labour resources.

This South African-Israeli linkage might jeopardize the former's oil supplies from the Arab countries, and the latter's attempt for a diplomatic comeback in Africa. This fact prompted *The Economist* to write, « Mr. Vorster's visit to the Israeli warships, based on Sharm-el-Sheikh, which have the task of keeping the Red Sea open was thought to signal his belief that Israel, South Africa and Iran between them should keep the oil routes open. So will Mr. Vorster's next visit to Iran ? » (April 17, 1976).

When the situation gets tough, it is only natural for political and ideological cohorts to close their ranks, so as to serve Imperialism more efficiently. Needless to say, these efforts are only acts of desperation that can never stop the process of liberation.

forts have been successful, and the people are now better able to choose safe areas and proper times to feed their cattle. Overall, the people have learned the best possible means of dealing with the enemy and minimizing their losses.

Q. What is the military situation at the present time and what are your expectations for the future ?

A. So far the enemy has failed in its plan to occupy the Western region. As I said, however, we are expecting another assault after it has regrouped its forces and reviewed its plans. On the side of the revolution, therefore, we are mobilizing our rank and file to thwart any new enemy offensive.

Now the fact that the enemy has failed so miserably in its carefully drawn plans despite many years of preparation gives ample evidence of the power of the PFLO. The enemy may have occupied some roads and positions, but the Western region is still ours, and even those precariously held positions are under continuous attack from our fighters, and cannot remain for long. The enemy's political stand is weak and basically groundless : even the ordinary citizen realizes that his country is subject to a foreign invasion. In addition, the enemy forces themselves are an incoherent conglomeration of different nationalities lacking any moral commitment to stand a fierce battle. As soon as a unit suffers heavy losses or defeat on the battlefield, it rejects further participation in the fighting.

The puppet Qaboos once said that we (the PFLO) are no more than five people. Yet he brought 35,000 soldiers from Iran to fight us, and still he was unable to bring about our defeat. This is because the masses are determined to defeat the mercenaries and to achieve a great victory.

THE LEBANESE ARAB ARMY

« The bourgeois state exists for the purpose of protecting the bourgeois social order. It follows that it cannot be used to transform the social order; it must be broken up and replaced by a state representing the interests of the exploited classes... »

Lenin — *The State and Revolution*

It is generally the case that in most underdeveloped countries the Army is one of the most cohesive and centralized organs of the state. As a result, in case of civil war, it is often expected to be partial to the right wing or the existing powers. However, due to the confessional composition and formation of the Lebanese state, this condition was also prevalent in the army. With the intensification of the civil war i.e. the polarization of Lebanon into two camps took place : a) the confessional, namely the fascists who are directly supported by the president; and b) the progressive forces who are launching a campaign for the elimination of all forms of confessionalism hence opening the door for the birth of a secular and truly democratic Lebanon.

In this context, the previously existing state apparatus could never have been used to usher in basic and fundamental changes because the underpinnings of the state were essentially confessional, tribal and feudal. In the course of the fighting that has lasted for more than a year, the old state has been torn apart and the battle is now concentrating on the formation of a new state whose presence will be the negation of confessionalism and fascism.

As the state apparatus disintegrated and the progressive forces continued to advance and develop, Imperialism and the right wing hoped that the army would enter the battle in full force so as to quell the Lebanese Progressive Movement and the Palestinian Resistance Movement. However as everything else in Lebanon, the army did not move and function as one unit. The process of polarization had also affected the army which gave birth to the Lebanese Arab Army and its right wing counterpart led by Antoine Barakat who joined the ranks of the fascists. The fate of the latter is that of the fascists — defeat. The former however is growing in strength and functions not only as a military body but as part of a political process seeking the total destruction — negation of all remnants of confessionalism in Lebanon. (see Bulletin 21 « The Birth of the Lebanese Arab Army » p. 12)

It is not being suggested that the Lebanese Arab Army is being transformed into a proletarian force, it is however playing an important role in the present phase of the democratic revolution. As mentioned earlier, one of the most important and positive results of the civil war in Lebanon is the birth of this Army. Unlike the past, this army points its gun at the internal and external enemies simultaneously and not at the Lebanese masses.

One of the leaders of the army said, « Armed with faith in history, the inevitability of the victory of the peoples of the world, and the hopes of the generation of the future for freedom, we welcomed new soldiers in our ranks with open and optimistic hearts. In spite of the difficulties we encountered at the outset — birth pangs, we instilled a sense of historical mission in the minds and hearts of our soldiers... The state applied severe pressures on us : they cut off our wages, considered Al-Khatib (the leader of the army) a mutineer whom they had expelled... However the support of the masses provided us with the energy and moral support to continue... we received food from the people of the Bekaa Valley. » Al-Khatib said, « The Lebanese Arab Army is the military wing of the progressive movement, and we consider ourselves as an integral part of the Arab and Palestinian struggle against Israel... »

Another officer of the army said, « The Palestinians aim to liberate the Palestinian individual and protect the land, we are also seeking to liberate the Lebanese individual and protect our land. Both peoples and land are Arab.. One people, one land ».

All of the officers and soldiers of the Lebanese Arab Army regard themselves as part of a non-sectarian, anti-confessional army. The relations between the officers and the rank and file are based on comaraderie, mutual respect and conscientious discipline.

Al-Boutari, the officer in charge of the army in the Southern Lebanon in an interview with our weekly newspaper « Al-Hadaf » in response to the following question said,

Q. « Do you favor the liberation of the fascist occupied territories by force ? »

A. « If it were possible to liberate them peacefully, so be it for that is the preferable solution. In using the word liberating, I basically mean the liberation of the people from their « ghetto » mentality .. isolationism ».

Briefly, the Lebanese Arab Army is a new social phenomena, a new vehicle through which the patriotic aspirations of the Lebanese people can be expressed.

Continued from P.1

The failure of the Syrian «initiative» was also felt in Washington. The U.S. feared that the victories scored by the progressive forces and the Palestinian Resistance threatened their basic goals in the region. Former U.S. Defense Minister, James R. Schlesinger very astutely pointed out that the U.S. is absorbing a setback in the Middle East because of the civil war in Lebanon. He said : « We are absorbing a setback right now as a result of the dis-integration of Lebanon... The cards in the Middle East are not favourable to us... » (Christian Science Monitor, March 29, 1976)

The American and reactionary aim of striking the resistance movement so as to force upon it retreat and capitulation met miserable failure. This prompted the U.S. to send its envoy to the region in an attempt to avert major changes in the balance of power which could jeopardize the overalll U.S. « Peaceful Settlement ». Dean Brown was called upon to carry the U.S. message. It should be pointed out that Brown was also sent to Amman during the civil war of 1970 — between the resistance and Hussein's army. To say the least, he is an experienced expert on matters pertaining to counter-insurgency.

Immediately upon his arrival to Beirut he set out to contact a host of political figures and parties. He advised them of the need to introduce some reforms so as to save the Lebanese regime. Those reforms however should not be drastic, as they should only include the « modernization » of the Lebanese state. These measures are to serve as shock absorbers or as a defense mechanism for the regime so as to enable it to quell the development of the progressive forces. It is feared that the latter's development would have a great impact on the region and would also boost the Palestinian Resistance Movement hence striking the Imperialist settlement an effective blow.

BROWN'S « PALESTINIAN » TASK :

The scope of the American initiative of course goes beyond the limitations of Lebanon. To shed light on the other dimensions it is interesting to take note of a symposium held in Haifa on the « Palestinian Problem ». Amos Perlmutter, an Israeli who teaches in Wash. D.C. mentioned that « the U.S. is applying heavy preasures on the PLO in order that it may accept U.N. Security Council resolution No 242 as the basis for negotiations with Israel. » Perlmutter further told the *Jerusalem Post* that « since a long time, there has been a dialogue between the U.S. and the PLO aiming at establishing negotiations with Israel... » He also pointed out that the American-Palestinian dialogue is taking place on « a low diplomatic level ». The most revealing of Perlmutter's disclosures is that Dean Brown is his source of information. This indicates that Brown's task is not limited to Lebanese affairs but also includes the Palestinian dimension — which if viewed in the long run would seem to be his most important and dangerous task.

— What are the American pressures, particularly after the failure of the fascist plot in Lebanon ?

a. The pressures of the war in Lebanon still prevail, in spite of the fascist's failure to achieve their goals;

b. Syrian pressures expressed through direct military intervention, coupled by the role of Syria's supporters as a fifth column;

c. Pressures of other Arab states, particularly Egypt and Saudi Arabia;

d. Pressure of using King Hussein as an alternative to the PLO in future steps of the « peaceful » settlement;

e. Pressures resulting from the ramifications of the West Bank elections through which the Zionist enemy hopes to establish their scheme of « Local Authority » in the occupied territories; (see separate article in this issue)

SMOKE RISING OVER BEIRUT

FRANJIEH FINGERING WORRY BEADS

f. Pressures of the internationalization of the conflict in Lebanon i.e. threats of U.S., Israeli or U.N. intervention;

g. Pressures of threats of the dividing of Lebanon — a la Cyprus — which is also a scheme used to discredit the Palestinian Revolution's declared goal of a democratic Palestine.

Interestingly, American diplomats and Middle East experts believe that in due time after enough pressure has been applied on the PLO, that the leadership will be ready to yield and retreat. In the above mentioned article, Sheehan writes :

« Privately, Arafat agrees to recognize Israel, but he will not publicly deal this, his most important card, until he is confident of a Palestinian state. That state, confined to Gaza and the West Bank, demilitarized, totally autonomous or confederated with Hashemite Jordan, is — despite immense obstacles — imaginable of creation; but it cannot be created, unless the U.S. endorses the goal and then pursues it. » *(Foreign Affairs,* March 1976).

If however, American thinking is incorporating the above in their plans and prognostications for the area, then it is of the utmost of importance that we be careful of their designs. Furthermore, it is not surprising when we discover that the U.S. in its most recent offensive in Lebanon has tried to divide the progressive forces from the Palestinian Resistance Movement by promising the latter a « better deal » in the process of the realization of the overall Imperialist settlement. It has been hinted that the PLO could better its chances in the settlement if it were to act « responsibly » in the Lebanese crisis. The *New York Times* recently wrote :« It is in the interest of Washington — Jerusalem — and the Palestinians to determine the responsible role the PLO can play in the negotiations for the attainment of agreement in the Middle East. » It further added, « And it is necessary now for the U.S. to test PLO intentions as it is a future candidate in the upcoming negotiations. »

However since it was impossible for Brown to meet the PLO directly, we must take note of the simultaneous arrival of the French envoy George Gors. The latter came to Beirut at the request or instigation of Kissinger. In the context of this scenario, Gors was to be the intermediary between Brown and the Palestinians.

Brown's moves were based on a two-pronged attack :

1. Yielding to some of the demands of the Lebanese Progressive Movement, concerning the make-up of the Lebanese regime;
2. Increasing the application of pressures on the Palestinian Resistance Movement.

The initial goal of this two-pronged attack is the weakening and dividing of the Progressive forces and the Palestinian Resistance Movement. To achieve the second goal stated above, Brown suggested a possible increase of the Palestinian role in the future and present steps of the settlements. This of course would not take place at Israeli expense, but possibly at Hussein's expense. You must note Sheehan's (He wrote the article in close collaboration with Kissinger) above cited remark. He indicates the desireability of forming a state « totally autonomous or confederated with Hashemite Jordan », the latter being Hussein's desire. In this context the reversal of the Saudi decision to fund Jordan's latest drive to acquire Hawk missiles can be interpreted as the application of pressure on Hussein.

Brown's intentions in obfuscating the situation is to raise the hopes of the Palestinians resulting in the intensification of the internal disagreements of the resistance movement between the PLO and the rejection front.

With these dangerous developments, it is clear that the Palestinian Resistance and the Lebanese Progressive Movement have no choice but to firmly cling to their unity. Imperialist designs can succeed only if we were to abandon national unity. In turn it is this national unity predicated on a clean political analysis that will frustrate all imperialist endeavours.

CONCLUSION :

The present situation in Lebanon is delicate but the balance of forces is clearly in the favor of the progressive forces and the resistance. In this context, the election of a new president will not in itself resolve the problem at hand. The new president must however clearly reject Syrian tutelage and must adopt a program of the deconfessionalization of Lebanon

In an editorial published in *Al-Nahar* of March 20, 76, we are exposed to a brilliant bourgeois liberal argument. They wrote : « In our opinion the regime as a whole was in need of a revolution long ago — we sought this, a constitutional revolution in aversion of the revolution... We would like to remind our 'constitutionalists' the Russians' defense of the constitutionality of the Czar in the face of the revolution — step-by-step until the victory of Bolshevism... We would like to remind these 'constitutionalists' the names of kings and presidents who displayed this constitutionalism to the world as the people proceeded with the task of revolution... These kings and presidents became memories of the past and the revolution has become the new constitution, the new reality. »

Al-Nahar's laments and fears are justified for we are witnessing the decay of a whole social system with all its furnishings — President Franjieh etc. Perhaps the revolution to which Marx alludes to in the quote at the outset of the article will still not prevail, but for the moment neither will the old social order. A democratic revolution is in the making, and the success of the progressive forces and the Palestinian Resistance is an objective set-back to the Imperialist plan — However, the situation remains delicate

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